/27 cont./
323 among our herders the developmental technique so foreign to their major occupations.

285 On the other hand, we are not in a position to formulate analogous hypotheses to explain the non-existence of basket-making in this society.

325 As far as metals are concerned, the Sarakatsani use metal objects [439] which they do not produce themselves, but which they buy in trade. We shall speak of these in connection with their use and acquisition. However, the Sarakatsani make metal blades for themselves and from these they make small cutting tools for woodwork.

824 /28/ The Sarakatsani likewise use another category of raw 237 materials; these are substances used for their chemical properties: [386] coloring, cleansing or causing fermentation; or even substances of vegetables or animal origin (plants, residues from the working of [381] wool, etc.); serving as agglutinins for dyes. However, glues for joining wood are unknown, and they use plant cords (wicker, rushes, etc.).

37 Power used is limited to fire, running water and the muscular strength of men and animals (this last only for transport).

322 The necessary equipment includes instruments, tools and sometimes very simple machines; they are made almost exclusively of wood, generally by the Sarakatsani themselves.

[128] The description of this equipment, as well as that of the procedures followed for its utilization will be presented always for the sake of systematization, in connection with each type of Sarakatsani industry.

***

Wood Craft

The purpose of Sarakatsani woodcraft is chiefly to make objects a) for their personal use (furniture, utensils, etc.), and b) for use in other craft industries (tools and equipment).

412 Before examining these products we must see what kind of tools and wood are used for their manufacture.

Let us first look at the tools-these are: hatchet, adze, knives.

/28 cont./

412 [439] These objects are obtained in trade with surrounding society and need not particularly engage our attention. However, there remain the [325] metal cutting tools (small knives, scissors, gouges, borers) for more delicate work (fig. 1 gives us an idea of these), which our herders themselves make by means of a file, starting with an old razor blade.

322 412 The manipulation of the tools in question is carried out by striking either stationary or by a thrusting motion /lancée?/ depending on the kind of tool and its use in concrete pieces of work (the making of cups or the ornamentation of a distaff, for example). It is necessary to emphasize that among the /29/ Sarakatsani there is no device for producing a rotary movement with borers. The perforation is made by hand, and it is the latter which, should the occasion arise, turns the borer (with an alternating movement).

322 824 For other purposes, the wood used comes from all kinds of species: (4) wild olive, alder, oak, wild pear, dogwood, chestnut, plane tree, pine, walnut, cypress, willow, elm, beech, plum, cedar, fir, boxwood,

412

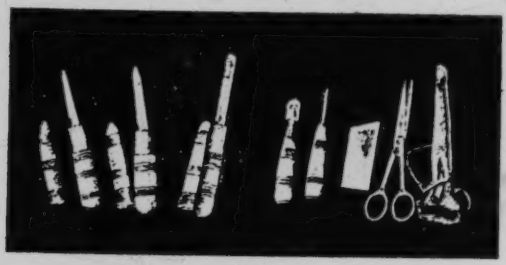

Fig. 1

322 [824] heather, wicker, osier, etc., making up a very broad range. All these woods must be dry. Moreover, some require preparation before they can be worked. This is particularly true of boxwood, the usable part of which is the root. In order to make the latter at once stronger and

/29 cont./

322 softer, it is left lying in butter for about a month.

This process is likewise applied to a certain number of hard woods.

Wood intended for sculpture or carving must be boiled in water for several hours. When it is a matter of bending a trunk, they soak it for four or five days or else heat it in the fire.

/30/ And now here are the various objects made from these woods and with these tools:

Household objects

[352] [412] Household objects may be divided into furniture (providing rudimentary comfort for daily life inside the dwellings), and implements used in housework.

352 Sarakatsani furniture is scant and very simple. One may list:

A table for meals, called tavla and sometimes sofras (fig. 2 and 3).

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Sometimes round, 60 centimeters in diameter, sometimes rectangular, this table is made of boards oppropriately cut. It consists of a top and legs (pieces of wood 30 to 40 centimeters high, nailed perpendicularly to the under side of the top).

It is extremely low table, for the diners take their meals squatting around it. Sometimes the tavla does not have legs and rests directly on the ground. This form, as a matter of fact, is older than the other.

A cradle: in the book by Madame Hadjimichali previously cited she shows the sketch of a cradle in the form of a moccasin hollowed out directly from a tree trunk and provided with a handle for carrying. (5)

/32 cont./

415 hollows on its upper side. The bread is put into these after kneading, and left to rise before baking (fig. 7).

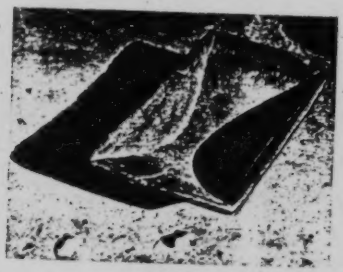

Fig. 6

Fig. 7

The plastiri is a circular tray 60 centimeters in diameter on which the Sarakatsani women knead the dough of unleavened bread. It is likewise on this tray that they flatten out the fylla or pastry leaves for flat-cakes (see below, chapter on food) (fig. 8).

412 /33/ The plastis which is used to stretch out the pastry is a sort of rolling pin 70 centimeters long and three centimeters in diameter (fig. 8).

415 Kitchen utensils and dishes

412
415

Fig. 8

/33 cont./

415 Since nearly all the utensils of this sort are metal--and are therefore not made by the Sarakatsani themselves--the only things left to describe here are:

412 The Kafki, a kind of wooden bowl cut out in quantity. It is used
415 at times as a mortar, at times as a single plate set in the center of

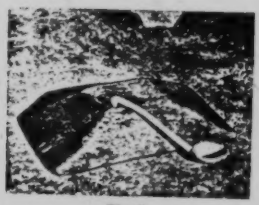

Fig. 9

the table within reach of all the diners; individual plates are unknown.

412 The spoons and spatulas of wood, likewise made in quantity, are used for eating, as well as to stir the contents of cooking pots (fig. 9).

415

Fig. 10

/34/ The glasses, or rather the cups, are also made of wood.

The klidhopinako, finally, is a sort of double bowl, of wood, the two parts of which fit together hermetically. That is why this object often serves as a food container by the shepherds, who can thus carry liquid and warm food during their long watches in the pastures (fig. 10).

/35/

415
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Fig. 14

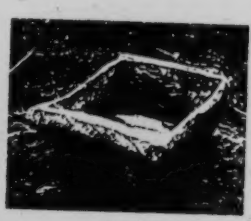

Fig. 16

Fig. 15

Fig. 17

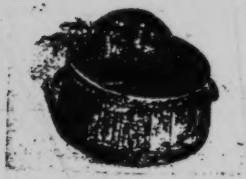

Fig. 18

Fig. 19

412 /36/
415 /36/ All these utensils are made out of hard woods (plum, dogwood,
824 oak, boxwood, /assuming that "bois" in French text is misprint for "buis"/ briar root, etc.).

Other household utensils

415 These include, first of all, a special receptacle for water and wine, with a capacity of about five liters, which is called voutséli. It is a small cask of wood with a side opening (figs. 11 and 12).

The vedhoura is a tiny tub with a handle, which is used for the preparation of yogurt (fig. 13).

[432] In order to transport and store wine and water the Sarakatsani
[178] use casks bought commercially. And this is an innovation, since formerly they made the casks themselves (fig. 14).

412 Finally, there is the xethali, a piece of hard wood bent at an
415 obtuse angle, which serves as a poker (fig. 15); the plystroskafidho,
296 a kind of basin carved out of a big tree trunk used for laundry (fig. 16); and the big paddles used to wash and rinse linen and wool in the brooks (fig. 17).

Pastoral equipment

415 This consists of objects used chiefly in work with the animals, namely:

415 Milking pails: formerly carved out of a tree trunk, they now
234 have the shape of a tub formed with staves; they are either made on the spot or bought commercially. They are round receptacles with a capacity of 12 liters into which the animals are milked (figs. 18 and 19).

Large and small tubs: the Sarakatsani have various kinds of small tubs:

First, the small tubs in which they keep milk until it starts to curdle. It is with slightly sour milk that they make butter.

The churn in which milk is vertically beaten in order to produce
[824] butter is also a small tub. It is 1.20 meters high and flared in shape (it measures about 40 centimeters in diameter at the base and 60 centimeters at the top); it includes plunger made /37/ of a large branch

/46 cont./
[236] [527] all is finished they organize a festival in order to rest and entertain themselves.

The arrangements observed are the same whether for sheep of goats. [221] [462] However, shearing of the latter precedes that of the former (it takes place during the month of March) and it is done by the women for reasons relating to special beliefs and superstitions. (9)

9. See below, pp. 101, 177-179, 370-371.

It is also necessary to mention another type of shearing which is partial and pertains only to the sheep. Twice a year (in March [221] and in /47/ October) they shear the belly, the feet and chest to re- [232] lieve the animals somewhat of their thick fleece (it is very warm at these times) and to rid them to some extent of their parasites.

Wool making

This type of work involves the following operations: boiling which consists of bringing the wool to boil in large cauldrons in order to get rid of the grease. The water from this boiling is saved in a receptacle and kept for later use.

Washing: once boiled, the wool is piled up at the edge of a brook or rushing stream. There, the women wash it very carefully in [412] running water and beat it with paddles of wood.

Drying: the washing finished, they dry the wool by exposing it to the sun.

Carding: it is then carded. They start by ridding the wool of all foreign bodies clinging to its strands, for example burrs, thorns, etc. After that they first disentangle the wool by hand in order to facilitate the cardage proper, which consists of combing the wool with the cards.

The position of the cards (fig. 28 and 29) is as follows: the lower thin board rests on the knees of the seated carder; this board has a rope around the center which passes between the knees of the carder; its end is attached to a wooden cylinder placed under

A, [Sc. p. 59--Analyst]

/109 cont./

252 prepared in the same way as the preceding. This bread appears on the
262 tables /110/ of the Sarakatsani women only on special occasions
574 (the arrival of a visitor, holidays, weddings, etc.).
527

252 Culinary art: Here again it is necessary to distinguish between
262 a number of cooked foods, on the one hand, and pastries on the other, which /together/ make up the basis of the diet of the Sarakatsani.

128 However, preliminary to the description of the different
234 Sarakatsani "dishes" it is suitable to begin with the method of preparing of cheese since cheese and butter make up the main ingredients of most foods.

234 We know that the milk produced is sold in bulk to a contractor
252 who transforms it into butter and cheese. This system is not practiced
439 either in the course of the seasonal migrations--the contractor not
22 being a nomad who follows the caravan--or, with better reason, in the course of the first summer months when the milk production decreases rapidly from day to day until it is near zero, so that the presence of the contractor unnecessary. It is during these two periods that the milk is made into cheese by the Sarakatsani themselves, to take care of their own needs. This is how they go about it:

234 The milk, at milking temperature of perhaps slightly heated
252

412 ←

415 →

Fig. 92

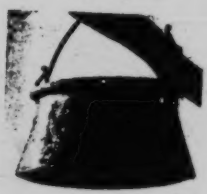

Fig. 91

3: Kabbadias--129 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

/113/

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142
412

Fig. 95

252
262
[191]

/114 cont./24. "Trachanas" is a kind of dough made in all regions of Greece. It is a mixture of flour and milk, dried in the sun. Then one crushes this mixture and ordinarily uses it in making soups.

A little of this mixture is spread on each of the leaves which then is rolled to make a stuffed cylinder, which is placed in a large round dish along the edges. The procedure is repeated for each of the leaves until the dish, filled with rolled-up cylinders one behind the other, resembles a giant snail which is coated with butter before being cooked under the "ghastra."

/116 cont./

252 flagstones, the coals or on the tripod. They are then carefully covered
415 with the "ghastra." Let us note that the hot "ghastra" is manipulated
(412) by inserting the "xethali" (wooden poker, fig. 15)A in its handle.
Finally, the "ghastra" is covered with coals. Figures 97, 98, 99 show
stages of cooking under the "ghastra."

It is under the "ghastra" that the Sarakatsani cook the various kinds of bread and pastries that we have described.

252 Cooking in the oven: the oven is used collectively (moreover, the use of the oven is relatively recent among the Sarakatsani), that is to say that the oven is built only in the midst of large aggregates of huts. The oven is chiefly meant for baking bread. In order to bake the bread, one must first heat the oven. Shrubs and logs are ignited and allowed to burn up completely. Then the ashes are heaped up with a shovel and the flagstones cleaned with a rag attached to the end of a pole. After that the bread needs only to be put in the oven and left there the necessary time.

The loaves to be baked are set directly on the flagstones of the oven.

Cooking on a spit: this is the most common method of roasting meat.
252 More specifically, the Sarakatsani, in preparing meat, cook only
262 whole lambs. In their traditional life, the preparation of pieces of meat previously cut up is not customary. Moreover, the only meat they eat is that of lambs and, more rarely, of goats. Of course, pigs and some poultry raised by the women are used for family consumption. However, their role /in the diet/ is so minimal that it in no case be considered substantial, or a basic food. /117/ /Figs. 97, 98, 99 appear here/

252 /118/ Cooking on the spit involves several stages. First, a one-by-two meter pit is dug some 50 centimeters deep in which coals are prepared; then the lamb is pierced from end to end with a spit which is placed on two forks set at the two extremities of the pit. Sometimes the height

A,/Fig. 15 appears on p.44--Analyst/

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 134)

/118 cont./

252 of the forks makes the pit unnecessary. One of the helpers stands at one of these extremities and sets about turning the spit continually until the roasting is finished.

[462] It should be noted that this method of cooking is generally the business of the men, with very rare exceptions. The justification for male involvement in this particular case is to be found in reasons of a ritualistic order which accompany the "sacrifice."

Technically speaking, the Sarakatsani methods of cooking are multiple: direct cooking (lamb at the spit, stachtocouloura), indirect cooking (ghastra, oven), cooking with a standing container (pots). However, examined in detail, one must admit that they turn out to be very adaptable to all kinds of Sarakatsani set-ups, from the most organized to the most casual.

264 415 412 Eating: Ordinarily this requires two kinds of objects, or rather, utensils:

1st A huge recetacle (pot or large dish).

2nd An individual instrument (spoon, fork, cup) conveying foods to the mouth.

Actually, the pots or frying pans in which the cooking is done, as well as the platters containing the pastries are placed directly on the "sofras" (the low table) and contain the food for everyone, each serving himself directly from the common dish. The pastries and the meat are cut up beforehand, making the use of a knife unnecessary. Sometimes (and this is not rare) even a spoon or fork are deemed superfluous, each helping himself with his fingers.

Thus, the consumption of foods is limited to two series of movements.

272 Beverages.

The customary beverages of the Sarakatsani should be classified into:

Fermented beverages including:

a) Sour milk.

[415] b) Whey which the shepherd makes himself in the course of the /119/ preparation of butter and cheese, and carries with him in the "ghalatsaki"

/268 cont./

descriptions of satyrs. Sharp claws and piercing cries are attributed to them. In order to prevent them from entering the hut, the entrance door is covered with wild asparagus (the thorny shrub repulsing the evil), asphodel bulbs (the flower of the dead according to Hellenic beliefs, hence indicated for exorcising underground demons), (56). One may also

56. The bulbs symbolize life. They are dry but sprout once they are planted. Thus any threat against life in the broad sense of the term can be neutralized by them.

instead place there the xethali of the hearth (see above, p. 44, figure 15), that type of poker symbolizes the fire and therefore its purifying force. However, the kalikantzari take advantage of the slightest opportunity to enter the hut. So to protect oneself from their wicked tricks it is necessary to avoid sitting too near the hearth of leaving there an uncovered pot, and to see that all the dishes are put back--precautions which prevent these spirits from soiling men, utensils and food. It is also necessary to drive a fork into raw meat [the prongs of the fork threaten to painfully prick the "kalikantzari"). One must also avoid washing one's head and combing one's hair during the days when the kalikantzari move about on the earth, in order to give them no opportunity to get into one's hair, "for the acts of men influence the spirits." If the kalikantzari dirty the food it is no longer edible. A Sarakatsani told us that one day during the Christmas festivities, his mother and he had roasted some pieces of meat for their lunch on the embers of the hearth in their hut. This meat seemed tasteless to them. They first thought they had not added enough salt. In the evening they prepared some of the same meat in a pot. This time the taste was truly abominable. They then realized that they had forgotten to stick a fork into the piece of raw meat /269/ hanging in its usual place in a corner of the hut; they concluded that the kalikantzari had urinated on it.

However, the radical procedure that puts an end to their sojourn among